ply xipa'. The names of two women will illustrate the indirect reference of the remainder; one is named "invisible," referring to the clouds; another, "winding," referring to the wild gourd vines; both clouds and wild gourd being among the xipa' totems. Thirty-one men belong to this sib, but only one has a totemic name.

The sib name thus serves as an auxiliary designation for all the women of a sib. Some women have no other personal name. More specifically it is a common term of address used by a man's relatives for his wife. For example, Mrs. Redbird of kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[a] sib has the personal name nĭk,ĭnk,ĭ'k, "iridescent green" (referring to the totem lizard), but is called kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[a] by her husband's sister. This has its counterpart in the bestowal of a nickname on a husband by his mother-in-law or someone of his wife's family.[36]

The feeling is marked among these people that all the Yumans have one sib system. That particular sibs of their own are not present in other tribes is a matter of no moment: that, they would say, is due to the fact that what we are here calling sibs are to them single lines of descent, and it is but natural that some lineages are not found in other tribes. What impresses them is that everywhere on the Colorado there are patrilineal lineages, within which the women alone are designated as pertaining to the lineage, and which function exogamously. They are conscious of a system; that details differ is immaterial.

The feeling for the system is very strong. They equate the patrilineal sibs of the Pima, or rather their moieties, with their own sibs, although the basis of Pima organization is different. All the local families derived from Pima paternal ancestors are reckoned in the sibs xipa' and l,eω'c. They object violently even today to allowing their daughters to marry men of sibless tribes; the children would have no sib affiliation. Naturally, it is quite permissible for men to do so. There are several cases in the present generation of women who have married Indians from California. No attempt was made to assign these men to particular sibs, hence

[36] The Yuma situation also differed from that of the Mohave. Yuma sibs had definite names; these served as women's names, but the women also had personal names which referred indirectly to the totems. The Yuma differed from the Maricopa-Halchidhoma in that the sib name regularly substituted for the personal name in later life (Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, pp. 142–47, 149).

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the corn himself. But these xavâtca'c people would eat corn too; they would only praise it. 614 824

Those of xamitu'tc praise that month, saying the trees had again come to life, were standing up stoutly, ready to bring mesquite beans to feed everyone.

Pakĭ'ṭ would boast, speak well of the buzzard. (One of them said, "Our white friends have dreamed of the buzzards; that is why they make airplanes.") At harvest time when it is cloudy, and buzzards always fly about when it is overcast, pakĭ'ṭ people say, "cimu'l (sib), drive all the clouds away, so rain will not destroy our crops." 614 825

Kwĭtk,ĭ'l,[a] sib looked on the eagle and lizards as its friends, and as friends, would not kill them. Kutox (of this sib) said, "When I see the little lizard, I praise it and boast of it as something big. I pray to the eagle when I go to bed, 'You are way above the sky and can look down on me and protect me. When I am asleep and there is any harm near, wake me.' To the lizard, I say, 'You are creeping on the ground just like the poisonous snakes: try to keep the poisonous creatures away from me.'"

Although several sibs had the same totems, there was no tendency to group them on this basis in phratries. That is, they recognized that two sibs had identical sentiments for a particular totem and that their relationship was therefore different from that with other sibs, yet there was no temptation to consolidate such pairs. Several statements describe this position. The Maricopa sibs xavâtca'c and l,eω'c "have the same insect" (a red or yellow beetle), so they are "almost alike," yet they could freely intermarry. Pakĭ'ṭ and l,eω'c both refer to the buzzard, but they do not consider themselves related. Pakĭ'ṭ people call it pakĭ'ṭ, while l,eω'c call it by their sib name. Contradictory to this, the single Halyikwamai family of sala'l sib have mesquite for a totem; so has Maricopa xamitu'tc, hence "these would consider themselves as belonging to one group." 614 [615]

It is significant that although the Maricopa community knows the Pima quite well, my informant had no inkling of Pima social structure. The Pima have five patrilineal sibs bearing meaning- 829

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829 less names, three of them grouped in one moiety, two in the other. The moieties are called Vulture (buzzard), Red People, or Red Cow-Killer, and Coyote, White People, or White Cow-Killer.[42] My informants did not know why those of Pima ancestry were classed invariably as either xipa′ or l,eω′c. They knew only that the part Pima of xipa′ sib say that their sib refers to the coyote. The reason is, however, transparent: since Maricopa-Halchidhoma xipa′ refers to the coyote, l,eω′c to the buzzard, the Pima married into the Maricopa community have been equated by their moiety affiliation with the local sib system.[43] (This raises the question, incidentally, whether the essential Pima unit is not the moiety rather than the sib.)

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The relative numerical strength of the sibs, as checked from an allotment list of 1915, is as follows: xipa′, 83; l,eω′c, 55; cĭkâma′, 21; xavâtca′c, 16; sala′l, 14; cĭnyikwĭ′s, 12; kwĭtk,ĭ′l,ᴬ, 12; xamitu′tc, 9; cŭkâpa′s, 9; pakĭ′t, 5; kwŭc⁴kŭ′, 1; l,âmu′c, 1; tŏxpa′s, 1; xĭlyi′, 1 (total 240). Kŭmâθi′ and mavĭ′s are extinct; the latter, at least, may never have existed. Since tŏxpa′s and xĭlyi′ are repesented only by women, they too are about to be extinguished. My informant Last Star believes that xipa′ and l,eω′c were the largest sibs in earlier times as they are today.

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While all the members of a sib were regarded as in some sense related, it was recognized that there were several distinct lines of descent within it, between which blood relationship could not be established, or at least was not definitely known. Hence people of one's own sib, not relatives, were not called by kinship terms. The terms in use were "friend," kiyi′ (used between men) and ciyi′ (when one or both persons were women). So also a man might marry in his mother's sib anyone not related to her by blood. On the other hand, marriage to a non-relative of one's own sib was prohibited.

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There seems to have been no preferred marriages between par-

[42] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 197; Parsons, *Notes on the Pima*, p. 455; Lloyd, pp. 147, 163; Gifford, *Clans and Moieties*, p. 174.

[43] It is interesting to note that my informant remarked that "the Pima say tcĭk,ă′vâ (man's cross-cousin) for cimu′l (sib)." Parsons found that the Pima referred to the moiety by the term that is used for cross-cousins (*op. cit.*, p. 456).

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Maricopa

wildering complexity, yet it is clear that they operate with a few simple principles.

The word "system" is quite legitimately employed for this body of kinship designations. It became quite clear that the Maricopa themselves think of it as a well-defined system. Thanks to my interpreter, Mrs. Redbird, it was possible to enquire systematically into the relationship of every person in the collateral lines derived from common greatgrandparents. She needed to know no more than the sex and relative ages of the siblings from whom the lines were traced to give without hesitation the terms used between any pair in the succeeding generations to no matter what degree of remoteness. She was frankly operating with a system. Every one of the usages obtained from her was checked and cross-checked, and in nearly every instance her first response was found to be correct. Not so her mother, an old-time Maricopa of nearly sixty, who, her daughter told me, could never tell what her relatives of even slight remoteness were called. Obviously, individual interest in the subject varied widely.

It is important to note that the kinship system bears no relation whatever to the sib system; kinship groupings do not follow sib lines.

The essential principle of the system is that the relative ages of brothers and sisters are given terminological expression, and the terms for their descendants hinge on this. These distinctions appear at every point, yet the curious thing is that age distinctions between siblings have no social existence. Neither I nor my interpreter, with whom I repeatedly discussed the matter, could find any feature of social life which might give rise to this. It may exist, but Mrs. Redbird's opinion was that the terminological distinctions existed only for their own sake.

Coupled with this basic principle is the fact that half-brothers and half-sisters are considered brother and sister, but only when children of the same mother.[46] The classification of parallel cous-

[46] By implication this may also be true of the Yuma and Mohave, but not of Cocopa, Kamia, and Northern Diegueño (Gifford, *Californian Kinship Terminologies*, p. 62; Kroeber, *California Kinship Systems*, p. 341). Terms given for paternal and maternal half-siblings among Yuma and Mohave are identical with those recorded here for the Maricopa. It may therefore be that these Colorado

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going to beat someone to death, too. They took their clubs: the dog barked and Coyote ran all around the house. 539*

(If you ever come to a crowd where this story is being told, when they reach the part about the fight, they take sides. If you are not careful they will scratch you to pieces. For the reason that those animals fought over a wife, humans do, too. Indians are likely to kill when they fight over a woman; by their supernatural power, they claim; but whites shoot each other. Every tribe has its own way. In the beginning there was war, so we have wars, too.) 829 578

FLUTE LURE

After their father died, at the time of creation, everybody was scattered over the whole world here. 539*

No one has ever said whether her family was living with this girl. She said, "I can not follow these people around. It will be better to make my own home." She said, "There is a body of water, called blue-water (xa'gwavăcu')." She decided to make her home near it, so that she could bathe there. As little girls do to amuse themselves, she made a slide. She put mud on the bank and slid down on it. She saw no one about. For three days she went to slide. On the fourth day she saw a man standing on the opposite bank. She wondered who it could be. She called him Yellow Gopher (ceăkwa's), her father's brother (năvi'). She said, "Why don't you come and stay with me?" She had the power to make the water deep and swift so that he could not cross. She said this just to mock him. When she slid down again, the man went under the ground and came up in the river as she was swimming it. She felt someone touch her, and as she went down the third time, someone seized her. After the third time, the Gopher decided to show himself or to go back underground. She wanted to slide down a fourth time. She thought that it must have been a root or limb, so she scraped down the bank with her hand, and rubbed mud over it again. Then she slid down a fourth time. Then Gopher stood up as a man right in front of her. As they stood there, Gopher decided he would have

/86 cont./

773 pick up things." "They will need webbed hands to dip up water to drink," was Kokomát's answer. The other insisted also that they be given minds, to know how to use their hands, and Kokomát, becoming angry, threw his clay images into the water and they became ducks and other web-footed creatures. Then Kokomát sank down into the ground; but first, in his anger, he struck the sky and broke it, so that Thoshipá, to keep it from crushing his people, had to support it with his hand at the north, [821] where we still see the marks of his fingers in one of the groups of stars. /87/ Kokomát lay under the ground and became very ill and thin. He rubbed himself, and the sickness flew into the air, turning into birds of many kinds. Then he moved toward the [823] ocean, and said, "Here I lie forever; but whenever I turn over there will be a shaking of the earth and the people will know that Kokomát is moving."

Thoshipá proceeded to make people, placing them in rows, one row for each tribe that was to be, and when all the rows were finished he blew on them from the feet to the head, twice, and life came into their bodies. He gave them languages, each [829] different from the other's, and the last one was the Chemehuevi. By the time he reached their row it was night, and he could not work so well as in the light, so that now no one can understand a Chemehuevi.

The people were left romping about like children. They played games and swam in the water. One of them said, "Thoshipá has a snake; let us send for it and play with it." So a man was sent to bring back the snake, and they played with it, throwing it about and treating it very roughly. At the end of the day they took the snake back. Thoshipá was angry because they had treated it so badly, so digging into the earth, he took gravel, chewed it, and made fangs for the snake. Next day the man returned for the snake, and, taking it up, was bitten. He cried out to Thoshipá that the snake had bitten him, but the creator gave no heed, and the man started back, dying before he could reach his people. When they saw this man dead, they asked each other how he happened to be without life, and learned that the snake had poisoned him. Thoshipá told the people to wrestle and kick each other, and they did so. Then he told them to fight with